/159 cont./

262 574 It contributed no little to the enhancement of the holiday mood that plenty of beijús, as well as puvas /see the glossary, p. 172/, brick-like pieces of dried mandioca pulp, and, above all, mingaus /see the glossary, p. 171/ were served. Everyone [272] was separately offered in large bowls three kinds: a whitish, thin, scarcely refreshing beaten paste of starch flour, another, yellow one, tasting of squash, and a third one, warm and pleasantly sweet, toward which everyone crowded in order to grant the palate this half forgotten quality of sensation.

609 Most delightful was the absolutely equal treatment that was given us and the soldiers. Chico, this African ape-man, even seemed to impress the little people particularly, and he, like all the others, leaning on his gun, accepted the homage with great dignity and drank in enormous draughts.

It cannot be said that the barbarians actually expressed great astonishment. In general they did not pay any attention to skin color and beard; true, they admired the clothing, the knives, the opera glass, but as children who are not experiencing this for the first time do with their presents at Christmas. A [152] demonstration shot filled them with terror; the women ran away, the men winced and, puzzled, joined in the laughter when they saw our gaiety. To avoid a repetition, however, they urgently begged "åla, åla -- it is enough." At the strange /160/ appearance of our dogs the professor was so frightened that he manifested the best intention of shooting them dead.

12 August.

437 •439 The Bakaïrí paid us a return visit with wife and child. They were heavily laden with beijús. Soon an enthusiastic barter with the soldiers was in progress; the latter bartered for arrows or feathers and puvas in exchange for buttons and worn articles of clothing. The buttons, which could be strung on the belt-string, were highly prized. The guests, however, especially preferred [554] knives, plates, and spoons. The tribal sorceress ran about busily; in vain she speculated on a cooking pot, which she excitedly examined from all sides; but she won a spoon, a tin plate, and

/160 cont./

437 439 [554] carried each piece that she captured to a secret repository lying back off the road, immediately most hurriedly hastening forth for new deeds.

609 At noon Wilhelm and I went to the aldea.[1] Antonio accompanied us, but, suspicious of his fellow tribesmen, he could not make up his mind to stay with them during the night and retumed to the river in the evening.

122 We set up housekeeping in the festival hut, and, alone with the charming little people, we felt indescribably content. When toward evening the mosquitoes started to annoy us, we took a [139] walk to the roca.[2] Greedily we looked about for the "frutas de lobo," apple-round fruits which were present in numbers on gray-green shrubs, but unfortunately not ripe; the Bakaïrí boys are no different from ours. A magnificent estate; the horizon was bordered by a dark park, behind which the sun was setting in 291 reddish orange. We met Pauhaga, as our apostle of peace is 177 called, and his relatives on the plaza between the three huts, trying on clothes in great embarrassment. They urgently needed our help: not only did they put the trousers on in reverse and upside down over the legs, but they also tried to draw them up over their arms and wanted to stick their legs into a shirt. Putting on a coat alone was an impossible thing. They were unaware of the most obvious offenses against the elements of propriety. A safety pin was hugely admired, but most of all a pair of scissors with which 412 one could so conveniently cut one's nails. Their tool, the stone ax -- a ground stone is wedged into a wooden handle -- with which they fell trees and make posts, deserves our appreciation no less, from the standpoint of how much can be accomplished with the simplest means, even though in the unspoken accompanying thought that we ourselves /161/ might have to go back to this [411] stage there is a slight admixture of horror. They have no spears, [231] no bananas, no dogs, and tobacco is nowhere to be found. Bones, 276 teeth, shells must serve them as tools, along with the stone ax. [237] /Illustration appears here./

[1] [i.e. village -- Analyst]

[2] [i.e. Cultivated field -- Analyst]

[Text continues on P. 40]

/177 cont./

[829] [101] We inquired eagerly about other tribes. It became clear that the Kustenaú and the Trumaí were to be met downstream. Waurá was a name about which we could not be certain. Was it a tribe? Or a little stream like "Tapacuya," which had given us a great deal of trouble and turned out to be the name of a nearby brook -- frequently mentioned to distinguish it from this aldea.

[101] The Kamayurá /Camayura/ lived ten days overland in the east. The principal role in all the descriptions, however, was played by the Schuyá (1), about whom the people in Aldea III

1. Suyá, pronounced Schuyá by the Bakaïrí.

had also spoken with excitement. They said they were taller -- they always pointed to me for a comparison --, very muscular, wore long hair down to their shoulders, and -- apparently lip plugs. By way of illustration, they pulled the lower lip forward forcefully with both hands, leaped about, and uttered a dreadful, intermittent roar; there was no doubt about it, the "Schuyá" were regarded with extraordinary respect among the Bakaïrí. But we! We might indeed risk it -- a young chap pointed to our guns, and all the heroes laughed and nodded to each other.

●439 They showed us a number of articles that came from the Suyá: a fine headdress of orange-red and green feathers, arm bands of such feathers, a flute (simple bamboo cylinder with side hole and an opening in the top), arrows with bamboo knives. A nicely carved stool, which represented a bird, was supposed to have been obtained from the Kamayurá.

[101] A string with small perforated stone disks, one of which was larger in the center and could be interpreted as human-like, came from the Nahuquá (2) likewise living in the east.

2. Apparently the Uanaquá of the Suyá geographer.

/93 cont./

126 stored, dark yellow reed diadems, such as Luchu is wearing on
534 Plate 6, I, others with radiating tips, large Panpipes, an oar deco-
783 rated with drawings, spinning whorls of the simplest type, that
[301] is, disks made of potsherds, and a quantity of remarkable
[239] cylinder-shaped sticks, which are covered with ornamentation
177 and worn on the back at festivals. But in the equipment of these third Bakaïrí it was clearly shown that we were with the section of the tribe living next to the rest of the Kulisehu Indians; all kinds of imported goods were present and were designated as such
439 here. The Bakaïrí do not make any pots themselves and do not
[323] themselves have a place where they might fetch stones for stone axes, but here we were immediately told that the pots came from the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ and the stone axes from the Trumaí. Among the pots one in the shape of a turtle represented an absolute masterpiece of primitive plastic art, on which the head, tail, and feet, as well as the shell drawing, were magnificently worked out. From the Auetó we found a half-broken clay doll; also originating from the Mehinakú, balls of finely spun cotton; from the Trumaí and Suyá, dainty feather caps. From our own possessions of 1884 we discovered two iron chisels, parts of a ramrod, which had been sharpened to a point on stones.

618 We met a Nahuquá in person; unfortunately, the man was
732 obviously an idiot and had little to offer for my purposes. It is strange that this is not an isolated phenomenon: the Kustenaú of 1884 had a simple-minded Bakaïrí among them, the Yuruna likewise an Arara Indian definitely feeble-minded, and it seems to me I often noticed similar instances. Do the people become stupid in the new environment or are only the stupid specimens entrusted to neighbors for their use?

126 In the flute-house anthropological measurements and photographs were taken in exchange for beads. In this village there was a pronounced Sémitic type, of which Plate 13, I, represents a classic example. The people submitted to everything and called the caliper compass núna, "moon." Only one man was indignant when, after Ehrenreich had measured him from head to foot in all directions, I handed him the fee of three beautiful, large
[153] beads. He wanted to have as many beads as there were measurements
I [See p. 138 -- Analyst]

/182 cont./

*171 301 321 Another type consists of small disks or smooth beads only one millimeter thick and three to five millimeters in diameter. They are evenly circular, with a dull, whitish-gray to bluish sheen. The little pieces of the broken shell were bitten off with the teeth, made approximately even in size, and were pierced like the squares. The tiny little things are so evenly ground /183/ that on the string they form a thin, flexible coil. [824] They are usually alternated with similarly shaped tucum beads (Bactris), which are bitten out of the shell of the palm nut. The tucum beads are likewise pierced with the tooth of the dogfish. For these and the small shell disks, the evenness is achieved by stringing the beads and, not grinding the roll on a stone, but rubbing and smoothing it between two pot shards. The shell beads are a very natural product, if colored or shiny pieces of shell are saved at all, they are strung on a cord, since they are hard to fasten otherwise, and they are matched up, which is most easily accomplished if one simply grinds them *171 301 439 all around. In this way the most diverse primitive peoples, with their respective shell material, have arrived at beads that look so much alike as to be mistaken for one another. The beads, however, also have all the characteristics required to circulate from tribe to tribe wherever intercourse takes place and provide the best opportunity to become acquainted with the extent of the intercourse, which some regard as unlimited. The Bakaïrí of the Batovy, more than those of the Kulisehu, are "zóto," lords, of the shell chains.

*171 301 The tucum beads are made chiefly by the Nahuquá; the latter had as shell beads the rose-colored little spindle pieces of Bulimus in particular, whose "zóto" they were, a single one of which interrupted the coil of the nut beads at short intervals. The Nahuquá were distinguished by a great wealth of chains, especially of plant material, which, moreover, also played a more important role among the Bakaïrí than among the tribes living downstream. [824] The Bakaïrí of Maigéri greatly prized "grass beads," kanakúni, which Antonio explained were fruits of a tall, rare grass growing along lagoons, each stalk of which produces only a few.

/203 cont./

ooo proper, we started first with the primitive peoples, we should not fail to recognize that there is Paleolithic as well as Neolithic work among them even today, depending on the kind of stone available, the material provided from another quarter, and the technical purposes present. We should see that the negative term "metal-less" is, of course, appropriate, but that the positive name "Stone Age" can be very unfortunate. We should also consider the case where man has no stones at all or unsuitable ones and still makes excellent tools and weapons. As an unprejudiced observer, it would scarcely have occurred to me to maintain that the Schingú Indians are living in the "Stone Age."

B
*171 412 ● 439 I 171 412 439 It is certainly true that their most difficult accomplishments -- clearing the forest, building houses, building canoes, making stools, and the like -- go back to the stone ax. But the various tribes were entirely dependent on one source, which was in the possession of the Trumaí. Neither the Bakaïrí nor the Nahuquá nor the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ and their relatives, nor the Auetö nor Kamayurá /Camayura/ had stone axes of their own manufacture. Their sandstone was not suitable for axes. I have asserted exactly the same thing about the former times of the docile Bakaïrí of the Paranatinga: in this region the Kayabi /Cayabi/ had a monopoly on the stone axes; the neighboring Bakaïrí were obliged to get them from them, later their deadly enemies. The tribes of the Batovy, Kuliseliu, and Kuluëne obtained their stone axes from the Trumaí (the Suyá living on the main river had some of their own). Thus, the stone ax is presented to us here as an import article.

Fig. 20.
Stone ax.
(1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.

T B 412 317 In answer to my inquiries, I was told that the stones were found "along a brook in the sand." The material has been identified by Herr Professor Arzruni /204/ of Aachen as diabase, a rock consisting of augite, plagioclase, mica, chlorite, and magnetite, in which are

/215 cont./

*171 462 satisfied with scant remains and would suffer hunger if they did not provide for themselves in time and stealthily set aside part of the contents of the cooking pots still during the cooking or eat already during their work." This among the modern Karaiben Makuschi /Macusi/ in Guiana. Appun, Unter den Tropen /Below the Tropics/, II, p. 399, Jena, 1871, and among many other tribes.

[113]

was therefore dependent on the booty of plant foods that she herself could obtain. On the Schingú the men plaited the roasting rack, roasted fish and meat, the women baked the beijús, boiled the beverages, the fruits, and grilled palm nuts -- what other meaning could this division into animal cookery by the men and vegetable cookery by the women have than that each of the two sexes had remained in its ancient sphere?

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[252] The men did the roasting, but never the boiling. Starting from this fact, we come by way of the same line of thought to a similar conclusion corroborated by quite analogous observations. Scarcely anything else on the Schingú seemed stranger to me at first than the fact that the art of making pots was limited to the Nu-Aruak tribes. The Bakaïrí did not own a single pot that did not come from the Kustenaú or Mehinakú. The docile Bakaïrí expressly told me that they had learned pottery from the Paressí, their Nu-Aruak neighbors. Thus old Caetano, in other words, the man, contrary to all original custom, made pots on the modern Paranatinga. The Nahuquá had pots from the Mehinakú and also made some themselves, as was demonstrated before our eyes by a woman kneading the moist clay; but this woman wore the tattooing of the Mehinakú women and had married into the Nahuquá; the art actually came from the Mehinakú. The Tupí tribes, too, had pots from the Nu-Aruak, especially from the Waurá. Thus, the one tribal group ** was the sole bearer of

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** According to Im Thurn, the Karaiben at

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*171 323

present provide the other tribes with cooking vessels in Guiana, although he says that the Aruak make abundant pots for their own use, but do not dispose of them as trade goods, like the Karaiben. Martius says of the Makuschi, the most populous Karaiben tribe of the Rio Branco area: "All implements of these Indians are neatly and carefully made, the weapons decorated with feathers, and only in pottery are they inferior to the Indians of the coast."

ceramics, also from an artistic point of view, as we shall see.

At first, and before I knew that the peculiar dependency on the Nu-Aruak existed for all tribes, I believed that there happened to be no clay available. This was an error, however. [135] There was suitable clay, not only among the Nahuquá, but also among the Bakaïrí, and the only thing I cannot say /216/ is whether the quality was a degree poorer than among the potter tribes, which, however, is probably of no concern for our problem.*

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* The Bakaïrí were the only ones who fetched good drinking water from a crystal-clear brook; the Nahuquá and, even more, the Mehinakú and Auetö drank from muddy loam pools and stagnant canal waters.

*171 323 415 ● [439] But let us consider another circumstance: the Bakaïrí and Nahuquá had gourds and calabashes, which, on the other hand, were lacking among the potter tribes and which the latter obtained from the Nahuquá, where special care or better soil, I know not, produced splendid fruits for vessels. Finally, if we learn that the Waurá made very attractive pots of exactly the shape and size of the gourd vessels, with imitations of the drawings put on them, that the basic form of the pots is clearly that of the drinking bowl, the gourd, and that the pots as well as the

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*171 ●439 T 171 439 How important good relations with neighboring tribes must be becomes clear from the, one might almost say, necessity of barter. One tribe is zõto, master of one article, the other of another. I have given the most important information about this in detail on pages 199, 209, 216. The Bakaïrí had as their specialty the neck-chains with white rectangular pieces of shell, shell beads, urucú, cotton thread, and hammocks; the Nahuquá, gourds, as well as chains with red pieces of shell and tucum beads; the Mehinakú and their relatives, pots and fine cotton thread; the Trumaí and Suyá, stone axes and tobacco; the Trumai and possibly also the Yaulapiti, chains with pierced stones. The Trumaí salt prepared from bamboo ashes was also popular among other tribes. These were all articles of trade. Some of them traveled the great distance from the Bakaïrí to the Suyá, going from tribe to tribe. The Suyá traded with the Kamayurá, the latter with the potter tribes, among whom the Mehinakú had the closest association with the Nahuquá, and the Kustenaú with the Bakaïrí of the Batovy. The uppermost Bakaïrí of the Kulisehu obtained their Suyá stone axes and Kustenaú pots from their Batovy relatives, and the Bakaïrí of the third Kulisehu village from the Nahuquá, with whom they maintained close relations. In 1884, when we had given the Bakaïrí on the Batovy some of our Karaiben things, the chief of the first village took advantage of the favorable trade outlook and set out on a business trip to the lower region of the Kulisehu; in this way tribes who were not neighbors occasionally also had trade relations. The articles traded by the Suyá for stone axes are hammocks, shell chains, arara feathers, and pots.

B [439]

B *171 439 Although there was an old and necessary barter-trade, nevertheless the concept of value was lacking, at least to a certain extent. The person arriving brought along this or that and delivered it when he was served at the reception. He was given the desired return gift in smaller quantities at the reception, in larger amounts when he took his leave. In Maigéri we experienced a typical example upon our departure, cf. page 125; we were made to sit down and then received a basket of flour. Thus, the docile

4:Schmidt--1 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/11/

I. Historical Data on the Bakairí /Bacairi/

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The same title which I have given to the present part of this publication was given by Karl von den Steinen to Chapter 14 of his book, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens /Among the Natives of Central Brazil/ (1) in which he deals at

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1. Karl von den Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. Berlin, 1894, pp. 387-395.

length with the history of the Bakairí up to the year of his second expedition, carried out in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River in the year 1887, based on comparative literature and on information received from the Bakairí themselves.

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There follows from the research of Karl von den Steinen that in the time prior to his first expedition to the Xingu River, very little was known on the Bakairí, although the western part of these Indians, that is to say, the Bakairí who lived on the Rio Paranatinga and the Rio Novo, had lived for a long time in fairly active contact with the Brazilians and came occasionally to the capital, Cuiabá, to sell the rubber they had produced and to ask for some donatives from the government. Martius, too, knows almost nothing about them, and treats them as if they were a Paressi group. (2) It is noteworthy that Martius

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2. Martius, Zur Ethnographie Amerikas zumal Brasiliens /Toward an Ethnography of the Americas, especially of Brazil/. Vol. I, 1867, p. 779.

already mentions the existence of Bakairí in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River: "Bacahiri, Bacchyri also live on the southern headwaters of the Xingu River"; (3) but with

3. Ibid., p. 382.

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/19 cont./ Xingú-Expedition /Report on His Second Xingu Expedition/," February 3, 1900, Verh. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde z. Berlin, Vol. XXVII, 1900, pp. 112-128. Idem., "Uber seine zweite Reise in Central-Brasilien," loc. cit.

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Antonio with his stepson José Coroado, already an adult, had then visited several times the Bakairí in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River, and a big part of these had moved in with their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, so that Theodor Koch, a participant in Herrmann Meyer's second expedition to the Xingu River, estimated the population of the aldea of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí, at this date, at more than 60 individuals.(24)

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24. Dr. Theodor Koch, "Reise in Matto Grosso (Brasilien). Expedition in das Quellgebiet des Xingú /Journey in Mato Grosso (Brazil). Expedition to the Region of the Headwaters of the Xingu/." Communication, d. K. K. Geogr. Ges. in Vienna, p. 335.

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At this time, the Rio Batovy Bakairí had canoes and also a port on the Rio Jatobá. Also the Nahukuá /Nahuqua/ had then risked for the first time the journey to the Rio Paranatinga and had carried away from there sugar cane and porotos /French beans/ for planting. (25)

25. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., p. 127.

/35 cont./

184 result of the latter's continuous movement to the Rio Parana-
198 tinga. Indian influence on the eastern Bakairí had increased
199 once more, and when in the year 1927 I visited the Simões
Lopes Post, where in the interval all the Bakairí had settled
either at the post itself or in its vicinity, it was still possible
126 to find there many ancestral implements and customs. In the
[198] Bakairí houses there were many objects made in the native
manner, so that I was able to acquire a relatively large col-
lection for the Berlin Ethnographic Museum. Among the objects
126 in this collection were, as already mentioned above, several
184 that came from the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu
[439] River itself, which the Xinguanos had brought with them when
they had moved to the Rio Paranatinga or which these Indians
had received later from Indians of other tribes as the latter
323 visited Simões Lopes. Among the objects from the region of
184 the upper Xingu River tributaries we may note especially the
fired clay vessels which were imported in large quantities, be-
cause, according to the Bakairí, there was no clay suitable for
[439] making them at Simões Lopes. The large fired clay ollas found
in large numbers in Bakairí houses and used to boil the pyserego
drink were obtained from the Mehinakú. A good example of
the small vessels that came from the region of the upper Xingu
323 River tributaries is shown in Figure 25. This vessel (V.B.
126 9870), (42) one of the appendages of which is characterized.
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42. This is the catalog number of the Berlin Ethnographic Museum.

by the formation of a mouth, by an animal head, corresponds in shape to a specimen of such a vessel which I brought in the year 1901 from the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí (43) and to other similar

43. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brazilien, loc. cit., p. 401, Fig. 275 /257/.

Bacairi SP7

Geographically the post is situated ideally on a high land removed from the river and cleared of all vegetation, the jungle appearing only as a narrow fringe along the river banks. Like the rest of the high plateau it is wind swept, and generally pleasant. It must be added that contact with white people, such as is had when a small group of natives go to Cuyabá, has brought syphilis to them, and it may be their mortality is due to this.

One occupation enjoyed in former times is denied them, and that is fishing. There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga, at least up to where the post is located. Since meat is gotten only on rare occasions, and no hunting is done, the diet is mainly one of vegetables and considerably poorer than when they were living in their original state. This may also explain their lowered resistance to disease.

Very little museum material which represents their own products can be collected from the Bakairi. What has not been gotten from the Inspectoria has been brought back on excursions to the Kuluseu. Pottery has not been made since their coming to the post, according to them. The huge vessels that they possess either have been brought with them from their former homes or bartered from the tribes on the Kuluseu. It is claimed that the proper clay cannot be found in the neighborhood of Simão Lopes.

Arrows are still being made, an iron nail generally being substituted for the old bone point, but most of the arrows also come from the Kuluseu.

For the old hammock made of palm-leaf fibre the cotton hammock has been substituted, but the same open net style has been kept.

Mussel shell ornaments have also been bought from the tribes of the Kuluseu. In brief, almost anything that is found in their village must bear the suspicion that it is not a Bakairi product.

However, they have preserved a few customs, such as filing the upper teeth to a point, wearing under the European clothing the gre string, and ceremonial use of the bull-roarer, and they probably remember many of their ceremonies.

The short time spent at the post was mostly devoted to taking anthropometric measurements, which were subsequently lost on the Kuluseu, but in some notes I do find the statement that in blood groupings most belong to groups three and four, the former predominating.

Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25 Y
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The absence of good clay perhaps is responsible for the poorness of the industry, for tribes of the same linguistic stock in other parts make good pottery.

The most common form has a circular base and a turned out rim. The sides are thick, and the pots are disproportionately heavy. The clay fires black. In many cases the outside of the pot is painted. The top of the out-turned rim often bears simple incised designs, such as are seen on Plate XX, 12. These pots are used in the preparation of manioc farina and in boiling piki. To the Bakairi they were so valuable that they begged to be permitted to take several of them back to Simões Lopes. [Plate XII, 2.] B [323] [439]

Smaller pots are made, sometimes with different shaped rims, such as were collected by Von den Steinen. They are comparatively rare and do not seem to have much importance in the culture. A great many of the pots are traded from the tribes further north. Y [439]

Other Receptacles

However, good substitutes for pottery have been found in calabashes and gourds, which are obtained in almost any quantity and are of any desired size. They further have the advantage of being light and do not break easily. They can be made to serve as bottles, dishes, cups, spoons, and every other kind of receptacle, by cutting off a section of the neck, or a section on the side, or by splitting in two along the neck to the base. The inner surface is charred and often decorated with painted red dot designs, the most common of which is a cross made by the crossing of two sets of two parallel lines of dots. Some of the other typical designs are shown in Plate XXIII. The outside of the receptacles are also often decorated— never with red dots, but always with linear painted geometric patterns. A few are also shown in the same Plate. Y 105 171 415 [322] [531]

A great variety of basketry exists, being made in many shapes, utilizing divers weaves, and are used for many purposes. The carrying basket has been described. Another common type is a circular flat bottomed basket of hexagonal weave. It is of especial interest since this type can be duplicated in Oceania, Africa and other regions. For temporary purposes, a basket is quickly made from a single palm leaf by braiding the leaflets together. A number of intricate weaves are known producing interesting basketry designs. [Plate XXI.] Y 105 171 285